1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

Recent ethnographic researches have for the most part concentrated upon the Kamayurá (Galvão 1949, 1950, and 1952; Oberg 1953), the Waurá (de Lima 1949, 1950), and the Kuikuru (Robert Carneiro and Gertrude E. Dole, unpublished). Only incidentally have these observers commented upon the Trumaí. Therefore, in 1953 when I had the opportunity to spend a little time in the upper Xingú area, I made a point of remaining a few days with the remants of the Trumaí. They were camped temporarily at Karajaja, the old village site, on a lake about half a mile away from the Kuluene River; their permanent houses were then at Anariatan, near the village site during Quain's visit. It was the dry season and the Trumaí were fishing. There were only 24 persons in the group — six adult males, ten adult females, four boys and four girls. Three of the women were unmarried widows, and there was one unmarried girl just past puberty. The chieftain whose current name was Ilitoari (no doubt the Aloari of Quain's notes), was married to two sisters, and there were four monogamous families. Two of the men were old and unmarried. Thus, the Trumaí were again united as a village (they had disbanded for a while). In 1953, however, there were not even enough men for the Trumaí to participate in the intertribal spear-throwing contests, a sport in which they had once been famous throughout the area.

The process of steady social and cultural disintegration and depopulation, which was already apparent among the Trumaí in 1938, has been a continuing one; and it is only a question of a very short time before these people cease to exist as a separate tribal group. Thus, the information and insights that Robert Murphy has brought together from Buell Quain's field work may be all that we shall ever have on Trumaí life and society.

Columbia University CHARLES WAGLEY
February 1955

[P. x contains no textual material]

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

The woof was made of cotton threads. The men's hammocks were usually woven, while those made by the women for themselves were generally an inferior twined product. Other manufactures of cotton were arm and leg bands.

Ceramics

The knowledge of ceramic manufacture cannot be properly considered a part of Trumaí culture, despite their daily use of pottery in cooking, manioc processing, eating and storage. All pottery utensils were obtained in trade with the Arawakan Waurá, usually in return for salt. The only clay article of Trumaí manufacture was the *ja'meo*, a crude clay griddle on which the *beijú* was baked. The Trumaí did not rely completely on pottery for watertight containers, as gourds, grown in their own gardens, were extensively used.

Wood Manufactures

All woodwork was done by the men with, at the time of Quain's visit, steel tools. The most distinctive article was the zoomorphically carved wooden stool, found among all upper Xingú peoples. Quain's notes contain a sketch of one such stool which is very similar to the one depicted by von den Steinen.[8] Other wood products were canoe paddles, *beijú* paddles, manioc graters, and mortars and pestles, used by the women to pulverize the hard, dry balls of manioc flour.

Weapons

Bows and arrows were used almost to the exclusion of other weapons. The Trumaí got their bows in trade from the Kamayurá, but made the bowstrings themselves from the fiber of a tree known to them as the *patacy*. They made their own feathered arrows out of cane, at the end of which was inserted a thin wooden shaft. The points were fixed to the shaft with a tree resin (*awalitsu*) and were wrapped at the juncture with cotton thread. Monkey bone points were used for shooting fish and birds. One man who was making a bamboo point told Quain that it was used for hunting and warfare. Another was seen hammering an arrow point out of a piece of metal.

Spears were not used often, although the Trumaí made them. Quain saw a spear point being made of the shin bone of a tapir. The spear-thrower (*xopep*) was used only in the annual spear-throwing contest. It was made from the wood of a palm. Quain sketched one that had a flat handle with a finger hole and a shaft with a hook on the end, and another that lacked the hook, but had a thong on the end.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 141.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

Aloari took over the post of *aek* by dint of personality and not by regular succession. Even if Jawaku had died, Aloari would not have been a logical heir. Manifestly, patrilineality was very fluid. 622

Conflict

In cases of interpersonal strife in the village, there was no mediator. The chief usually dissociated himself from these arguments and let the litigants shout it out. Maibu, described by Quain as a happy extrovert and a secure person, was involved in few personal quarrels. He did have occasional difficulties in discharging his office. For instance, Tun and Aloari refused to help build Quain's house on the grounds that he was only a *camara*, or person of low status. There then ensued a loud argument in the village plaza between Aloari and Maibu in which each tried to shout the other down. The men sat around and watched in bored amusement. Finally, to break it up, they tried to get Quain to sing. When Maibu grew weary and retired, Aloari continued to talk, but was greeted with hoots of derision. 578 622 626 [123]

Aloari was continually embroiled with the other villagers. He refused to finish thatching his house for the rainy season because he wanted the community to move to an old village site where there were fewer insects. His protests were to no avail. The village remained where it was.

Protests against the chief or the village as a whole did not often result in open conflict. For the most part, they were expressed by grumbling, non-compliance, and threats to leave. No action except ridicule was taken against dissidents. Disputes usually took the form of shouted arguments in the evening men's circle. The closest approximation to the use of force was a mock wrestling match between the disputants, in which light slaps and holds were mixed with talk. During one argument, a club was waved. 622 578 [626] [526]

Unwarranted use of force was regarded as a serious offense. Quain learned this at first hand after he had been among the Trumaí for two and a half months and had established excellent relations with them. When Autsuki, an adolescent boy, who had been told not to take any flour from a sack in Quain's house, persisted in doing so, Quain knocked the flour from his hand. Autsuki left the house, laughing derisively. Instantly, however, the entire village was astir. The men gathered in the plaza for a serious discussion. The boy's *wawes* (mother's brothers) came to Quain's house to demand an explanation, as did the chief. Fortunately, except for his pride, Autsuki was not hurt, and the matter was allowed to drop. Maibu, however, seeing that Quain was still annoyed, invited him to come into the center of the village and make a speech in his native tongue, the standard Trumaí escape-valve. 123 578 626 [154]

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

the group, and they never participated in any of its activities. Occasionally men gathered in the village center during the day, but at night the circle always formed, generally lasting from sundown until about nine o'clock. In the afternoon it was often the scene of wrestling matches. Talk usually went on then also, but the gatherings were smaller than at night.

At night most of the men were present, and conversation ranged over a variety of topics. Of greatest interest were neighboring tribes, past warfare and present threats to peace. Gossip, usually about sex, found ready ears. This was the time when the chief made most of his speeches, and the time when plans for a fishing trip, for salt manufacture, or for a journey to the Waurá for pots were discussed. The men's circle was also the place where the shaman practiced his art, and, as noted above, where grievances were aired.

The social life of the males was centered almost completely in these gatherings, and it was in them that the mechanisms of village authority and social control were expressed. Also, the men's circle underlined the cleavage between the activities of the men and of the women. The women had no formal grouping such as the men's circle, but they showed solidarity when the need arose. While men were dominant, as Quain said, they "look on the women as an ungoverned force," and open group quarrels were not infrequent between the sexes.

Status

Aek, the Trumaí word for chief, also denoted membership in the upper half of what is nominally a status class. Members of the lower half of this class were loosely referred to as *camara*, a term which, according to Galvão, probably diffused into the region from rural Brazil, where workers are called *camaradas*.[10] There was some uncertainty on the part of Quain's informants as to who were members of the *aek* division. In general, it included the chief, the two sub-chiefs, and their families. But while the status appears to have been hereditary, its transmission was loose and uncertain. For instance, Maibu was an *aek*, but he refused to classify his brothers as such. However, the fathers of both Maibu and Katauka, one of the sub-chiefs, were *aek*. Matiwana's three daughters and his son derived their status from him, further supporting the case for patrilineality. On the other hand, the children of one of the daughters were *aek*, even though their father was a *camara*. The significance of being *aek* had probably declined with the weakening of leadership patterns and the lessened importance of the sub-chiefs. Today, the *aek-camara* division is non-functional, membership is confused, and, except for the chieftainship, it is correlated only vaguely

[10] Galvão 1949, p. 40.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

Jakwanari then presented to the dancers as payment. In another part of the ceremony, a gourd of the *piquí* fruit drink was poured on Jakwanari in the same manner that the manioc gruel was poured on Matiwana during the *ole* festival.

The Spear-Throwing Contest

The spear-throwing contest involved intertribal participation and was completely secular. The core of the celebration, which took place at the end of the rainy season, was a duel between rival teams representing the tribes of the area. The purpose of the duel was for a member of the team on the offensive to strike a member of the defending team with a blunt-ended spear propelled by an *atlatl*, or spear-thrower. The defendant held a few sticks vertically, one end resting on the ground, and tried to deflect the oncoming spear with them. The distance between the two was about twenty paces and hits were frequently scored. After each turn, the defender went on the offensive. The games were conducted in a spirit of friendship and festivity. Bruises, some of which must have been severe, were compensated for by gift exchanges.

The participants painted their bodies elaborately for the combat. One informant erroneously stated that the masks for which the area is famous (but which were no longer made by the Trumaí) were worn during one part of the festival.[1] Intertribal wrestling matches were also held at this gathering.

The Bull Roarer

Information on the defunct bull roarer rites, as for other ceremonies, is extremely meagre. As the Trumaí express it, they have "buried the *kuiã*" (bull roarer), but most of the adult men knew the ritual connected with it and remembered when it was still in use. The Trumaí formerly went to the Kamayurá village and took part in the ceremony there. One man told Quain that dancing in the Trumaí village preceded the ritual, whereupon they all went to the Kamayurá village and "did things that the women cannot see." Then, he said, there was a great deal of wrestling and copulation. Yati, Maibu, and Tun played a ceremonial role known only to them, while Yati, Oirupa, and Nitvary sang certain songs at night when everyone was asleep. The ceremonial flutes found throughout the upper Xingú are not mentioned in Quain's notes. Apparently, they were no longer used by the Trumaí.

[1] These masks are worn during a ceremony called the *jakui* by the Kamayurá, which, according to Galvão (1950, p. 385.) takes place in the same season, thus explaining the confusion.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

857 Among the eight boys below the ages of Autsuki and Jawaku there were no clearly organized groups. When outdoors they usually played in small groups of three or four, although nearly all would gather together occasionally for some special activity. The small groups were usually composed of age mates. Tsirikoan, the youngest, spent most of his time in the house, while the oldest boy, Muruta, was already drifting away from the others and spending more time with the men. Tay, an orphan boy of between ten and twelve years of age, was decidedly a misfit and did not join the others often. Of the remaining five, the three oldest were steady companions, while the two youngest either trailed them or stayed near their houses.

[572] Despite the fact that the children were together frequently, there were no fast friendships or strong ties of loyalty and dependence. In this respect they were much like the men. Their play together was sporadic, and participation was fluid and shifting.

857 The only organized play in which the children indulged was wrestling. 526 Matches were infrequent and usually broke up within fifteen minutes. [484] All the boys turned out on such occasions except Tay, whose interests [604] were abnormally directed toward homosexual play. The wrestling [858] matches were a complete replica of the adult contests, the boys even sitting on the log in the men's circle (this was one of the few times they were permitted to do so). The adults never interfered. Usually they stood near the houses and watched the grappling with great amusement. When the wrestling involved boys of the village only, it was very informal and few pains were taken with their ornamentation. Each bout consisted of trying out some holds and grunting loudly in imitation of the men. The contests generally ended in a draw by mutual consent without any hostility being shown.

Most of the matches were between the older boys. But they also wrestled with the younger children. Even little Tsirikoan wrestled once. As he did not know what he was expected to do, he merely grunted and fell down. The bigger boys were very gentle with the little ones and tried only to teach them.

648 Just as the men were excited by the intertribal wrestling matches, the 857 boys welcomed the chance to wrestle with boys from other tribes. This 526 occurred regularly, since it was customary in the upper Xingú for a boy [484] to travel with his maternal uncle. At one such time, a Kamayurá boy [604] came to the Trumaí village and was invited to wrestle. The boys gathered [171] in the men's circle after having carefully painted themselves and put on new arm and leg bands. The older boys wrestled the Kamayurá youngster in turn, but since he was bigger, he threw them easily. The [576] Trumaí men watched from a distance, silently rooting for their own boys, but laughing loudly as each landed on his back, out of politeness to the visitors.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

tention of marriage. But an intention of marriage did not insure exclusive sexual rights. The man usually continued to get gratification wherever he could find it. The knowledge of his other liaisons did not particularly disturb his bride-to-be, as she herself may well have been receiving attentions from other lovers. After marriage, such transgressions were not so readily tolerated.

The chief obstacles in the way of the marriage-bent Trumaí swain were the necessity to shout down his rivals and gain the approval and consent of the girl's kinsmen. The woman's consent was not necessary in making the marriage, and she usually remained aloof, waiting to see who won. If, however, she was not pleased with the mate to whom she was awarded, she was free to leave him. And this she often did. While Quain was in the village, there were marriages that lasted only a day or two due to the bride's dissatisfaction.

In addition to the arguments that precede most marriages, the man was expected to go through certain formalities. He went to the girl's mother and stated his intentions. If the girl had no mother, he approached the nearest male relative. In order to gain the favor of her kinsmen, he distributed gifts, the most important to the girl's mother, others to her father, siblings, and her mother's brother. The gift to the latter was especially important, as he was the one who formally gave the woman, or as the Trumaí phrase it, "spreads her legs." Gifts were also given the girl, culminating with a present of fish. In the meantime the girl made an especially fine hammock which she gave to the groom.

If everything was accepted, the man was free to take the girl to his house. The wedding was preceded by a fishing expedition in which nearly all the men participated, and by a wrestling match for which the groom was beautifully painted. The women held a trade game. The actual ceremony consisted of nothing more than the woman's moving into the house of her mate. A male relative carried her hammock to his home.

This was the way weddings should have been conducted in the Trumaí village. Actually, they were even less formal, especially in the case of second wives in polygamous unions. Marriage and sex preoccupied the Trumaí, for there were not enough women to go around; but even the few formal acts involved interested the Trumaí little. If the marriage was durable, the couple settled down and had children. After marriage and the birth of children no great change occurred in their positions in the community until they reached old age.

Old Age

Everyone in the village was classified as "younger" or "older." The men were either *axosek* (younger) or *tdakek* (older), while the terms for the women were, respectively, *axosektsa* and *tdakits*. These were not age

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

cumbent upon the males was a prohibition against wearing body paint for several months after the death. This ban extended to women, also. In addition, the female mourner could not sing in any of the ceremonies, and she cut her hair immediately after the death. Marriage was also forbidden her during the mourning period. (Autu came under censure as she had married her dead husband's sister's son — which at any time was reprehensible — even though her hair, cut when he died, had not yet grown back.) The woman was also required to wail occasionally for the dead person during the time of mourning, and she made flat mud discs, about one inch high, in the village center. Quain never found out the reason for this, although Kayaru made several of these markers for her dead brother. No special reverence or respect was given to the markers as they were usually demolished during the wrestling matches.

Recreation and Amusement

Trading sessions have been referred to as "games" because they are a form of amusement, but this appellation is in a way misleading, as the economic aspect of the "trade game" is very important. Actually, except for the intertribal spear-throwing contest, the only organized recreation is wrestling, and this is immensely popular throughout the whole upper Xingú area.[4] Wrestling matches were especially frequent during intertribal visits and ceremonials. These occasions aroused keen interest, and competitive spirits ran high, but the onlookers made it a point of etiquette to show no partisanship, and the contestants made every effort to conceal latent intertribal hostility. They were always friendly to each other, and at the end of the match they exchanged a friendly embrace. This was not necessary between fellow Trumaí or close kinsmen of different villages. The most effusive behavior was always shown toward those who were most disliked and mistrusted.

Wrestling matches always took place in the afternoon. All that was needed to start a match was a quorum of four or five men. These small bouts were usually informal and more in the nature of practice than competitive contests. When most of the men were in the village the contests attracted more attention and required more preparation. Bodies were painted and arm and leg bands were worn. The hair was usually combed and plastered down.

The men lined up on the log in the men's circle or brought stools. The women and young boys watched from the periphery. Uninitiated boys were not allowed to take part in the men's wrestling, but the older ones were generally permitted to sit with the men.

Each wrestler tried for a grip by grabbing at the body of the other. A variant of the half-Nelson was frequently attempted. The match

[4] Cf. Galvão 1949, p. 44.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

526 would be terminated by mutual consent and without the need for either contestant to concede defeat.[4] The wrestlers were often pushed around [152] considerably, but except for grunts of effort, there were no expressions of pain or anger. However, when Quain tried to teach the Trumaí men to box, even the lightest punch caused them to retire. They claimed that the *karahiba* sport was much too rough.

562 Trumaí women do not "know how" to wrestle, but the Kamayurá 526 women wrestled to entertain guests. It was common opinion in the region 186 that Trumaí women did not compare favorably with Kamayurá women. 648 Even the Trumaí men agreed on this point. After a visit to the Kama- yurá village, the precocious young Yanahi was vociferous in his approval 171 of them. His admiration was due chiefly to the *jamyrikuma*, a Kamayurá female song and dance in which the women flapped their breasts and went through other provocative motions. He also described how they had pushed their twine belts down low on their buttocks, which to him was a very suggestive act. After the dance the women wrestled. Jakwalu, a Mehinaku, was the only woman in the Trumaí village who could wrestle, a fact that suggests that the females of this group also practiced the sport. She demonstrated her ability only on intertribal visits.

574 The Trumaí women did not entertain guests, except insofar as visitors 535 forced their attentions on the unmarried ones. The only occasions on which they were known to sing and dance were at certain ceremonies when they served as a chorus to the men.

533 Except for the use of pan-pipes, which the men played in the morning, [534] all music was connected with religious ceremonial. The pan-pipes con- [196] sisted of a half-dozen hollow reeds of different lengths laced together. Ceremonial singing was melodious, and the Trumaí enjoyed singing. They frequently requested Quain to sing in the men's circle. The requests were always phrased on behalf of the women and children. [123] Visits from members of other tribes always called for a performance by the ethnographer.

522 Humor consisted mostly of practical jokes played at the expense of 571 others. Jokes were always perpetrated by the men; the women served occasionally as butts. This does not mean that the men were gayer or more light-hearted than the women, for the contrary was actually the case. The women enjoyed each other's company more. They gossiped and laughed together, worked together, and generally wore a pleasanter expression. For the men, jokes were important as a means of recognition and assertion. They were always performed for an audience.

Teasing the women was also a popular male diversion. This was often done by ignoring them completely during a conversation. Yati was a

[4] This may be true only of bouts between Trumaí, as Oberg (1953, p. 89) notes that a man is defeated when he is thrown on his back.

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*171
411 /231 cont./
Indians practice on the village plaza and, as a target, plant a shaft which bears at the top a cylindrical or conical piece of cork wood.

T
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411 The throwing board, in our case, where there is no "board" often called a throwing stick,* is now a rare weapon which was

* For our case the best expression would be "arrow thrower." "Throwing stick" too easily gives rise to confusion with sticks that are thrown.

found among only the two Tupí tribes, the Kamayurá /Camayura/ and Auetö, and among the Trumaí. It was the greatest ethnological surprise of our journey. Ehrenreich then also came across it among the Karayá on the Araguay. Replaced by the bow, it has remained in active use only among the wood-poor Eskimo. The North American Indians, as far as is known, were not familiar with it; among the ancient Mexicans and among the Maya, as well as among the inhabitants of Colombia, it appears in limited use, though a wider distribution in early times may be inferred; it is regarded as the weapon of the Inca warriors; and finally we see individual examples of it among South American primitive peoples, especially Tupís, on the high Amazon as well as in eastern Brazil. Among our tribes, too, the throwing stick had lost its real importance, or at least was on the point of losing it. Nevertheless, in every house there were more throwing boards than bows; the Indians said that they never used the weapon any more for hunting, to be sure, but certainly in war. In 1884, when the Trumaí appeared before our camp, they had no throwing boards with them; the stone balls with which the darts are equipped for serious use were not present in any number among the Auetö and Kamayurá; they, too, had to get them from the Trumaí, and thus, for the Tupí tribes at any rate, if only because of their geographical location, the days of the throwing board are numbered. As a

T
●[526]
[535] sporting weapon, however, it still enjoys great esteem and assiduous use; in connection with the dance, I shall also have to mention the throwing-board dance, which portrays being wounded in battle.